

Period.

EQUAL RIGHTS

"MEN AND WOMEN SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND EVERY PLACE SUBJECT TO ITS JURISDICTION"

Amendment to the United States Constitution now before Congress.



—Courtesy of U. S. Dept. of the Interior National Park Service.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY GIANT SEQUOIA

Giant redwood of Sequoia National Forest in California, named by the United States Department of the Interior National Park Service, in honor of pioneer crusader for Equal Rights, whose one hundred and eighteenth birthday anniversary is universally celebrated today. A pioneer in its own right, more than two thousand years old, it is a sentinel of the primeval forest reaching upward toward the sun by day and the stars by night, ever growing in majesty, as does the fame of the great woman whose name it now bears.

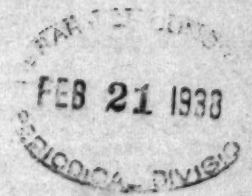
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Equal Rights



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NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

OBJECT

To secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships—in particular to secure the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, and the adherence of the United States to the Equal Rights Treaty. The Woman's Party also supports the proposed Equality Amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations.

THE PROPOSED EQUAL RIGHTS AMENDMENT

"Art. 1—Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction.

"Art. 2—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Introduced

Senate—By Senator Townsend (Del.) and Senator Burke, (Neb.), Feb. 5, 1937, (Senate Joint Resolution No. 65).

House—By Representative Ludlow, (Ind.), Jan. 5, 1937, (House Joint Resolution No. 1).

Present Status

Senate—Before Judiciary Committee; favorable report by sub-judiciary committee June 23, 1937.

House—Before Judiciary Committee; favorable report by sub-judiciary committee June 16, 1937.

THE EQUAL RIGHTS TREATY

"Art. 1—The contracting States agree that upon the ratification of this Treaty men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions."

Signed

By Cuba, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay, at Montevideo, December, 1933.

PROPOSED EQUALITY AMENDMENTS TO COVENANT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS

"The members of the League undertake that in their respective countries the right of vote shall not be denied or abridged on the ground of sex."

"The members of the League undertake that in their respective countries there shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice regarding nationality."

"The members of the League undertake that in their respective countries men and women shall have equal rights in all other fields."

"The members of the League undertake that there shall be both men and women, with full voting powers, in all delegations to the Council and Assembly of the League and to all Conferences under the auspices of the League."

Present Status

On agenda of the September, 1937, Assembly of the League of Nations.

When They Understand It

OPPOSITION to a principle cannot kill the principle, but it often defers its acceptance. Christopher Columbus found few supporters of his theory that the world was round at a time when it was believed to be flat. This, however, did not make the world flat. Opposition to the principle of equality does not alter the principle, but until its acceptance both women and men will be deprived of its benefits.

Many of those opposing the Equal Rights Amendment today, do so on grounds that have little relation to the question and little basis in fact. Some of them fear the power it will give to Congress to regulate marriage and divorce; to determine the legitimacy of children; that it will bring chaos to the country. These fears represent the old bugaboos of pre-suffrage days and are as unfounded.

Every law that is passed by Congress must be measured against the Constitution of the United States. That is the purpose of the Constitution. It is a guide, made up of fundamental principles established for the mutual protection of citizens. The national law must meet certain legal specifications if it is to remain law. The same procedure is followed in state law, which is measured against both the state and federal constitutions. Every law that is enacted necessitates some changes. It is for that reason that we find in laws such words as "all laws or parts of laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed." There is no chaos—merely an adjustment that the nation and each state make every day.

Adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment will create no greater upset than did the suffrage amendment. The States would equalize their laws as they desired, but they would be based on equality.

The only control the United States Government would have over the individual state would be precisely the control it now exercises in guaranteeing to the citizens of all states freedom of speech, freedom of the press and the right to worship as they choose. The national Government would guarantee only the principle. For example: The states would handle their own divorce laws just as they do now. In South Carolina, where there are no grounds for divorce, there would still be no grounds either for women or men. In Florida, where there are nine grounds for divorce, the law would, as it does now, apply to women and men alike. In states having equal guardianship laws, these laws would remain untouched. The only effect would be to fix the principle so that future legislatures, should they alter the laws, would keep them on a basis of equality. In states where only fathers are guardians of children, the law would be amended to cover parents.

Whatever a state determined to do regarding property rights would be the same for both sexes. If the law of a state permits a husband to sell his property only with the consent of his wife, the law would apply in like fashion to the sale of property by the wife.

Legitimacy of children, which has been suggested as a problem, is not involved. Their parentage is determined by nature, not by law. Law can only fix responsibility for their care, support and legal status.

The Equal Rights Amendment needs only to be understood. It is a principle so sound and so simple that its opponents, who are looking for complications and implications do not comprehend it. It is just a common-sense fundamental principle in which every man and woman who thinks correctly will believe when they understand it.

Senate Committee Defers Vote To Study Record

ACTION on the proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, scheduled for February 14 by the Senate Judiciary Committee, was delayed because of the fact that members of the committee had had no opportunity to study the record of the four-day hearing on the amendment, just completed.

"I am convinced," said Senator Burke, sponsor of the amendment and chairman of the sub-committee before which the hearing was held, "that a close examination of that comprehensive record will result in a victory for the Equal Rights Amendment when the vote is taken in the full committee. The only right now granted women in the Constitution of the United States is the right of suffrage. In no other particular does the Constitution grant women any right which English women of 1789 did not have. The Equal Rights Amendment, to my mind, is simple justice and the extension of Democracy to our women citizens."

With the announcement of the fact that on January 31 the Senate Judiciary Committee would vote on Senate Joint Resolution No. 65, the Equal Rights Amendment, requests from William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, and the National Council of Catholic Women, that they be heard resulted in the setting of February 7 as the date for the eighth hearing on this subject held during the past fourteen years. The first was held February 4, 1925, and the seventh on May 27, 1933. Five hearings were before the Senate Judiciary Committee and two before the House Judiciary Committee.

Both the House and Senate Judiciary sub-committees voted favorably during the past year on the eighteen word amendment: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction," and the concluding clause providing: "Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Chairman Edward R. Burke, who with Senator Townsend of Delaware, is sponsoring the Amendment in the Senate, presided at the four-day session, other members of the sub-committee being Senators Carl A. Hatch, New Mexico; Joseph C. O'Mahoney, Wyoming; William E. Borah, Idaho; James H. Hughes, Delaware, and Warren R. Austin, Vermont.

Mrs. Emma Guffey Miller, Democratic National Committeewoman for Pennsylvania, sister of Senator Joseph E. Guffey, of Pennsylvania, and wife of Carroll Miller, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, spoke eloquently for the amendment and presented the proponents of the measure.

Opposing the amendment and introducing the opponents, was Dorothy Straus, attorney, of New York.

Out of the mass of testimony laid before the committee, one point was definitely established by those who sponsored and those who opposed the amendment—the fact that there exist throughout the United States myriads of unjust laws discriminating against women merely on the ground of sex. Likewise, it was generally agreed that these discriminations should be eliminated, since they operate to the great disadvantage of women. Beyond that point, the process of reasoning of proponents and opponents had little in common.

Opponents of the proposal to place in the Constitution an Equal Rights Amendment to make secure the gains women have been able to make by the uncertain "state by state method," and to eliminate more than

a thousand discriminatory laws, apparently were completely confused as to the purpose and character of the amendment under consideration.

Questions raised and opposition voiced dealt with fear that the amendment would do away with so-called protective laws for women only; that there would be "incredible confusion" on account of conflict with existing laws; that it would result in a declining birth rate, and that it attempts to make men of women.

Despite what the proponents felt was the irrelevancy of much of the opposition, they set about to carefully present what they are convinced is a simple matter of justice and common sense. It was explained at great length by lawyers who had for years studied the subject and the laws of the various states, that the amendment made no attempt to make any one person the equal of the other, but merely to place in the Constitution a guarantee that the law would apply equally to both; that the amendment deals with the law of the land, not laws of nature, therefore has no connection with the birth rate; that it is neither desired nor attempted through the amendment to make men of women, but merely to guarantee to women that the law will not apply one way to women and another to men; that the amendment would in no wise prevent protective laws for those who work, but would definitely prevent enactment of so-called protective laws for women only, leaving men workers free to under bid them and take their jobs.

Opponents claimed that the wording of the amendment was vague. Lawyers appearing in favor of the measure declared it to be in keeping with the language of other amendments to the Constitution, and that the entire Constitution deals with general principles. Those testifying illustrated by quoting such well known terms as "due process of law," "equal protection of the law," and "liberty," general terms already in the Constitution.

Highlights of the four-day hearing, two days of which were given over to the opposition and two to those favoring the amendment, were talks by industrial women workers, including Mrs. Maud Williams, President of the Catholic Society for the Betterment of Working Conditions of Women, and a member of International Typographical Union No. 6, of New York; Mollie Maloney, New York, president of the Bindery Women's Union, Local No. 66, affiliated with the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Mrs. Mary A. Murray, president of the Brooklyn-Manhattan Transit Women's League; Mrs. Margaret McDoal, member of International Typographical Union No. 6; Claire Liggett, member of International Typographical Union No. 6, all affiliates of the American Federation of Labor; and Mrs. Elizabeth Fisse, of Baltimore, chairman of the International Garment Workers Local No. 327, an affiliate of C. I. O.

They told of the disastrous effect of so-called protective laws, which had resulted in the loss of their jobs and appealed to members of the committee to give them the protection of the Equal Rights Amendment.

"My organization of Catholic Women believes in absolute equality between men and women in industry," said Maud Williams. "They are all practical Catholics, all dependent on their weekly wage to maintain in their home a decent standard of living. Their religion in no way affects their belief that they are entitled to their jobs. They cannot understand how

anyone could believe that depriving women of jobs would make them better Catholics. The fact that women would be obliged to remain at home if deprived of their jobs by legislation would certainly work nothing but hardship on women who are striving to give their children a Catholic education. In fact, many women of my acquaintance, and I, myself, prize our jobs because they have enabled us to do just that."

Mollie Maloney, in speaking of the no night work law passed in New York, said: "That law worked a terrible hardship on the women in the book binding industry . . . on the night shifts there were employed many widows, women with sick husbands and women with delinquent husbands. The so-called welfare laws for women only set women back fifty years in the book binding industry. "And so, gentlemen," she said, "I hope you will consider our tragedy, for tragedy it is, when you cannot earn a living, and vote favorably on the Equal Rights Amendment."

Laura Berrien, vice-president of the National Association of Women Lawyers, spoke briefly for the amendment, then introduced Dorothy Ashby Moncure, of Virginia, who spoke on behalf of the Association. Miss Moncure, during the existence of N. R. A., was Counsel to the National Compliance Board, composed of three members representing labor, industry and administration, considering violations of wage, hour and other labor standards and also fair trade practice standards fixed in the respective codes. Prior to that time she had considerable experience with industry in the economic division of the Federal Trade Commission. Miss Moncure discussed the legal aspects of the Equal Rights Amendment, the position of women under the law and the need for a Constitutional guarantee.

Burnita Shelton Matthews, a member of the National Council, National Woman's Party, a member of the Committee on Women's Work of the I. L. O., of the League of Nations and Chairman of the Legal Research Committee, Woman's Party, explained the meaning of equal rights, the operation and effect of such an amendment, and cited cases throughout the United States showing the position of women under the law today and outlining the effect of a Constitutional guarantee of equal rights upon existing laws.

Replying to the charge that adoption of the amendment would create confusion, Mrs. Matthews told of the simple way in which this was avoided when it became apparent that the suffrage amendment would be ratified. She stated that the states anticipated the action, bringing state laws into alignment in the event of ratification. The result, she pointed out, was that ratification scarcely created a legislative ripple in the states, where the adjustment was simply made.

In this connection Senator Burke pointed out to Dorothy Straus, when she raised the question as to the effect of cases where dower rights were acquired prior to adoption of the Amendment, that "the amendment would not be retroactive."

Rebekah Scandrett Greathouse, lawyer, a member of the National Council, National Woman's Party, and instructor in the Washington College of Law, said: "It is strange that we should need an Amendment giving equal rights to men and women in view of the general provision 'equal protection of the law,' now in the Constitution, but the reason is simple. As all lawyers know, a familiar principle of constitutional and statutory interpretation is that unless the contrary is plainly expressed, any provision is not considered to be in conflict with the common law as it existed at the time of enactment." Women, therefore, she

pointed out, are still victims of the Common Law status of women of a hundred and fifty years ago.

Helen Robbins Bittermann, president of the Ohio Branch, National Woman's Party, a historian and economist, spoke on the effect of so-called protective legislation on working women. She told of the practical effect of the restrictive laws in her state and pointed out that a survey directed by her in Ohio had found that women are thrown out of jobs on account of these laws. "Had these laws applied equally to men, no dismissal would have taken place," she said, "a fact which is the strongest possible argument for an amendment creating equality in the industrial, as well as in the legal field."

Mrs. Christine Kefauver, of New York, represented the National Alliance of Civil Service Women, and the Women's National Democratic Club, of New York.

Presenting the request of 65,000 business and professional women who are members of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Mrs. Mary T. Denman, of Latrobe, Pa., and Celia Howard, of Chicago, referred to the fact that their organization had gone on record for the Equal Rights Amendment at their recent national convention. "As business and professional women," said Mrs. Denman, "we have long believed we do not need the protection of special laws for women only. In the competitive employment world our group faces, we believe that qualifications by both experience and constant training should be the sole basis on which employees are selected and rewarded. We do not want a legal impediment to the free operation of the merit principle. We do not want laws for women only which interfere with this bargaining power by placing us at an artificial disadvantage with men."

Miss Howard, in advocating the Equal Rights Amendment, replied to charges that the enforcement provision of the proposed amendment would give to Congress too much power, and said: "If, then, we are willing to trust the common sense of Congress in its enforcement of one amendment, should we not be willing to trust the common sense of our elected representatives, or indeed the highest court in the land, in the enforcement and interpretation of another amendment?" She referred to charges made that confusion in existing laws might result from the amendment, and said that in the case of the recently enacted Social Security Act: "Here the Congress recognized a great need and passed this comprehensive piece of legislation. It did not hesitate to meet this great need because of any fear of resulting confusion."

Martha Servis, of Philadelphia, executive secretary of the American Federation of Sorooptimists Clubs, spoke for the amendment on behalf of her organization, composed of executive women in eighty-one cities in the United States, women who employ as well as those who are employed. She said: "We have women of initiative, courage, vision and ability who have worked and accepted responsibilities just as men have done. We do not want to dodge them; we want to meet them, and we want to be met on a basis of equality because results have demonstrated our right to be met on that basis. This is not sentimental reasoning—it is every-day common sense. American women, gainfully employed, no matter where or how, are definitely cooperating with men in sharing responsibilities."

Mrs. Sarah T. Pell, National Chairman, National Woman's Party, appealed to the committee to vote favorably on the amendment, thereby contributing a "victory for Democracy, which will immeasurably

strengthen the forces of Democracy when they are most ruthlessly threatened." (Mrs. Pell's statement will appear in the next issue).

Dr. Miriam Oatman, of Brookings Institution, economist, and writer of books and articles in the field of political science, said: "Economic laws know no sex distinctions. What is the result of so-called protection? In one word, exploitation. Only equality of opportunity is good economics. From the standpoint of political theory, the proposed Equal Rights Amendment is a much needed and logical addition to the Bill of Rights of our Federal Constitution."

Jane Norman Smith and Anita Pollitzer, both vice-chairmen, National Woman's Party, urged favorable action on the amendment. They told of the campaign through the years to equalize the laws, state by state, but stated that there was nothing permanent about the procedure, since each succeeding legislature could take away all gains. "At the beginning," Mrs. Smith said, "we stood alone." Now, she added, "twelve national organizations of women are side by side campaigning for the amendment. No man is required to go to state legislatures year after year to try to prevent sex discriminations from being written into the law. It seems most unfair that women should be required to do this."

Miss Pollitzer said: "It is significant that industrial women themselves are resisting the statements made in their behalf, that they need at once these special laws. They are going on record for themselves in opposition to special laws which the national leaders say they need. They themselves in greater numbers now speak in no uncertain terms for themselves on the basis of their own experience."

Notable among opponents of the measure were two men, Dean Acheson and James O. Moredock, lawyers, who advocated restrictive laws for women, expressed fear of "confusion" should the amendment be adopted, objected to hazardous occupations for women and in addition stated that they did not know the meaning of the amendment. Mr. Acheson appeared in one of the minimum wage cases before the United States Supreme Court, taking to a great extent a similar position.

It is impossible in this issue to give in more detail an account of this historic hearing on the demand of women of the United States, that the law apply to them in the same way that it applies to men, but from time to

time some of the splendid statements of those representing the many organizations now for the amendment will be presented. Following the summing up of the case for the amendment by Mrs. Miller, Senator Burke, chairman, congratulated the proponents on their "remarkable presentation."

Seated with Senator Burke on the final day of the hearing was Senator Townsend, of Delaware, co-sponsor of the measure in the Senate.

In addition to those appearing in person before the committee and urging favorable action on the Amendment, hundreds of letters, wires and statements were received from every section of the country. Miss Annie Goodrich, dean of the nursing profession, and Dr. Florence Sabin, of the Rockefeller Institute, were among those urging the amendment.

There was the traditional opposition of the League of Women Voters, Y. W. C. A., National Council of Jewish Women, Consumers' Union League, the Women's Homeopathic Medical Fraternity, several local organizations and a few individuals presenting their personal views in opposition to the amendment, among these, Dr. Susan Kingsbury, of Bryn Mawr College.

Legislating Women Out Of Industry

We have just organized another large bindery employing about sixty women. This is the Franklin Bindery (a bindery for the trade) and the largest at this time of any trade bindery 100 per cent union. Owing to increased business this firm moved from their old location to a new one occupying one and one-half floors in one of the large buildings occupied wholly by printing firms. A night force is also employed regularly.

It may not be long before we are legislated out of night work, too. A resolution was presented at the session, just ended, of the Illinois State Federation of Labor to prohibit women working nights. I questioned the men delegates presenting the resolution, and after some argument I said, "You evidently do not want women in industry," and he said, "No, we don't." So draw your own conclusions.

MARY MCENERNEY,

Secretary Local No. 30, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, Chicago, Illinois.
(The International Bookbinder.)

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Emma Guffey Miller Addresses Senate Committee

AN EMINENT scholar implied here on Monday that he felt the women who advocated the Equal Rights Amendment were influenced by resentment toward men. As the mother of four sons and the wife of the same husband for thirty-five years, I for one deny this implication.

I shall not introduce to you, gentlemen, any academician, any learned person out of touch with industrial life, nor any wealthy or prominent women who make spectacular exits from their tapestried drawing rooms in order to show how their "hearts bleed for the poor working girl." I shall not introduce women who will attempt to prove what they think other women should have, though they would resent having it themselves. On the other hand, I shall present to you women who, through the hard experience of industrial life have felt the ruinous effects of discriminatory and so-called protective legislation, and I shall introduce women who believe in equality both for others and themselves.

The amendment which we endorse does not belong to any one organization. It belongs to every man and woman in this nation who believes in freedom that is true, in justice unrestrained, and in equality that is real. Gentlemen, before introducing the working women who will follow me, I wish to present to you a list of some of the organizations which have endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment. (Presented list). And now I wish to also file with your Committee a list of some of the organizations which have gone on record against special labor laws applying to women alone. The names of some of the organizations appear on both lists.

History again repeats itself. Twenty years ago when we were pleading for the woman suffrage amendment, we were told by some church groups and women's organizations, that if women were granted the right to vote there would be no more children, there would be fewer homes and that women would not use the right of franchise.

In answer to the first, I might remind you that there is one organization in particular which thinks there are still too many children; that more homes and better homes is the plea right now from every section of the country; and that women are generally using their right of franchise, because in some sections there are more women voting than men. So all those arguments have fallen by the wayside. But the voices raised loudest against granting women the right to vote, based their argument on the plea that if women could vote, they would cease to have the high respect and tender regard of the male sex. This argument usually came from legislators in whose states the economic condition of women and children was lowest and sweat shops and tenant farmers most prevalent.

This argument was at that time laughingly referred to as the argument of "chivalry hokum," because the men who made it always told of their chivalrous attitude toward the women in their own states, but they rarely proved their attitude by their votes. We no

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEEWOMAN FOR PENNSYLVANIA PRESENTS SPEAKERS AT EQUAL RIGHTS HEARING

EDITOR'S NOTE: Mrs. Miller campaigned for woman suffrage, is a former member of the League of Woman Voters, former historian of the Pittsburgh Chapter, D. A. R., member of the Advisory Council of Women's Organizations for National Prohibition Reform, President of Trustees Association of State Teachers College of Pennsylvania, member of Pennsylvania State Council of Education, member of Welfare Commission of Pennsylvania and Chairman of Advisory Board of National Youth Administration for Pennsylvania.

longer hear that argument referred to under the name of chivalry, but the same argument prevails under another name. It is now called protection for women or "protective legislation."

One of the most amusing chapters in the history of our country will relate the tale of the time when women themselves organized against their political freedom through anti-suffrage leagues. This is laughable when we look back on it,

but the most incomprehensible chapter of the world's history is being written right now and right here, when women who once worked for suffrage come before this committee opposing the Equal Rights Amendment which is but a corollary to the suffrage amendment.

The Nineteenth Amendment granting political freedom took us to the door of equal opportunity, and the Equal Rights Amendment would open the door and take us into the temple of equality.

Protective legislation has not done what some of its sincere and honest supporters thought it would do when they first advocated it. To be sure it fixed or raised the standard of wages in certain industries through minimum wage laws, but the result has not been what was hoped for. The contrary is true in many cases, because in many industries women, because of such laws have lost their jobs to men underbidding them. Therefore, discriminatory legislation for one sex has lowered the wages for both. If women are given equal rights, jobs will not depend on sex. Secretary Perkins last year suggested it is the job that counts—not the sex, and regarding the Wages and Hours Bill, President Roosevelt expressed similar views. Ability, not sex, should be the criterion and, therefore, it is likely that such an amendment as we endorse will be the means of raising wages.

Protective legislation is not the right word any way. What the opponents of this amendment mean is restrictive legislation. I am for protective legislation heartily, if both men and women are protected, but I am not for restrictive legislation in regard to either sex alone. Such restrictive legislation constitutes a hobble. If you want a horse to run a race you leave all feet free. Would any of you gentlemen be interested in a survey which has been months in the making, and in which was decided how few shoes, clothes, cigarettes, movies, etc., the average man employed in the various trades could get along with. That is exactly what comes when people get the idea of protective legislation for women. We might have talked about protective legislation before women had their political rights. At that time, idiots, women, and children were all classed together. The Nineteenth Amendment took women out of the idiot class but we are still left in the class with children.

Of course, I know the Equal Rights Amendment might do away with some positions now being held by persons in the "Bureau for Women and Children" but I think that bureau, if we cut off the name "women" and term it merely a bureau for children, will still have

sufficient valuable work to do. If we are going to continue under restrictive legislation and have a bureau for women and children, then let us be logical and state it this way: Let us have a bureau for women and little girls and a bureau for men and little boys. What would you think of that? Isn't it logical that since women have been citizens throughout all the United States for eighteen years that we should be permitted to dictate our own hours, our own wages and make our own contracts the same as men? Isn't it time we women were given equal rights to establish our own economic security? Should we not now be given the right to protect ourselves?

We are still hearing that old battle cry of the anti-suffragists that if we get equality women will be called upon to defend the country as soldiers as men have always done. May I remind you that more women have died bringing soldiers into the world than there have been men killed in battle? The field of battle today is not at some country place as were Waterloo, Gettysburg, and San Juan Hill. The field of battle today is wherever bombs and bullets rain from the sky on aged men, young mothers, and helpless babies. We are all in the line of battle now.

If women do not go to war, we still go on producing cannon fodder.

We are told by the opponents of this amendment that women must be protected from hazardous occupations. Again may I remind you that the most hazardous occupation on earth is child bearing? If you want to exempt us from that most hazardous occupation, go ahead, gentlemen, but before long there will be no need for laws of any kind.

It has been said that woman's strength is inadequate for bearing the physical and mental burden of equality. If that were true, which it isn't, then soon there will be no more men and no more cause for worry.

I would call your attention to this salient fact, that restrictive or so-called protective legislation is usually offered when women are in competition with men in the field of labor. In every state an unmarried woman after she is twenty-one years of age is permitted to control her own property. It is only when she marries that she loses various property rights. Because she recites a few words under the church or the law, why is she suddenly deprived of these rights? Why because she marries does she suddenly become apparently either incapable or childish? This certainly, gentlemen, seems a sorry reflection on your sex. One day a woman is supposedly in full control of her senses and property and the next day, because she becomes your wife, she becomes incompetent. Should you die, she again becomes competent. Let me give you this case. Here is a young woman who has worked for a number of years and bought and paid for a property through her own wages. She also has some property left her by her parents. For several years she managed this in a very efficient fashion. Then she married. Now, under the laws of her state she cannot sell any of her property without the consent of her husband. She may, with great expense, start a court proceeding and ask the court to appoint a commission to pass on her ability to handle her own affairs which she had handled successfully until the day "she went to the church and said she would." Now what happened to her? Presumably she was in her right mind when she accepted this husband, who was a business man but no more successful than she had been, and who resents the fact that his wife must now seek his consent in regard to disposing of her own property. She did not need this protection. The right protection to a family would be to have both husband and wife sign the transfer or

have each do it independently, according to what the states may decide. In other words, make them equal.

We are told that night work in a factory endangers the morals of women. I do not believe that the morals of women in a factory at night are in greater danger than in places of amusement. The morals of a self-supporting woman are certainly not endangered to the same extent as those of a hungry woman, but if you take her job from her by law her morals are certainly endangered.

The provision in regards to women doing night work are frequently, I am afraid, dictated not by the desire to permit women to sleep in peace and security, but by the desire to put women out of paid employment. For example, in Chicago there is a bindery company, (the workers union is known as Local Union No. 30) whose increased business demanded more space or there must be a night shift. Now some one has to hold these jobs so it has been suggested that any night work for women in the bindery should be done away with in order that the men could get the jobs. There was no idea of protection there. The men acknowledged they wanted to put the women out of work. Then the women would have to go on relief, and may I suggest, that women on relief cost the United States Government just as much as men. While it might be very attractive to have all women leading a life of ease and leisure at home and follow out the old nursery rhyme—

"To sit on a cushion and sew a fine seam

And feast upon strawberries, sugar and cream"—

the only way to bring this about would be for all of them to have a man somewhere with a comfortable salary to support them. What's going to happen in places where women outnumber the men? However, we must face the facts and acknowledge that such a time, if it ever existed out of Eden, has gone forever. More and more women are entering industry, not because they want to, but because the economic condition of the world is such that they are obliged to. We constantly boast of the millions who have a high standard of living in this country. If we are to keep them on that standard and raise millions of others low-lived to a higher standard, the only way to do it, whether we like it or not, will be to have more than one breadwinner in the family.

It was my rare privilege to attend Bryn Mawr College when the late Miss M. Carey Thomas was its president. When she was a little girl of ten years, she saw the family colored coachman enter a polling place to vote, while her brilliant mother remained seated in the carriage. She resolved at that time to fight for woman's suffrage. A few years later when she wanted to study higher branches of learning, which were then denied to most young women in the country, she was obliged to sit behind a curtain in Johns Hopkins University and listen to the professor lecture to young men on the other side. She resolved then that she would struggle to open educational doors to women wherever they were closed. She completed in an incredibly short time the most difficult courses at Cornell University and then went abroad to complete her work for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. While some of the European universities permitted her to study under their professors because she was an American, the only place of high standing which would grant her the examination leading to her degree was the University of Zurich, Switzerland. She passed that examination with a grading higher than any man had received and the first American woman ever to receive a Ph.D. degree in Europe. When she returned to this country, she became dean and later president of Bryn Mawr College and it is generally acknowledged that no edu-

cator, either man or woman, ever did so much to open the doors of equal educational opportunities to women, or did more for education itself than did Miss Thomas. She had little time for status quo minds but she had even less time for illogical thinking. After almost sixty years of endeavor, she was able to see the thing she most hoped for come to pass but a short time before her death two years ago, she wrote a letter, from which I quote, endorsing the Equal Rights Amendment:

"After having given the most careful consideration of which I am capable to the present legal and industrial disabilities of American women, and also to what I am convinced will be the beneficial after-effects of the Equal Rights Amendment now before Congress, I have reached the conclusion that it ought to be supported by every woman's organization, and by every individual woman in the United States.

"During the present world-wide depression the majority of men and women of the civilized world have lost, and I believe forever, the savings of a life time and financial security. In the future, women as well as men must work for their living and for the joint support of their children. Women can no longer be supported by men.

"We women of the older and of the present generation must combine together to make sure, by passing the Equal Rights Amendment, that all women 'throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction' shall have equal legal rights with men to their children, to work, paid by the job and not by the sex of the worker; and the pursuit of happiness."

We hear a great deal against night work for women. Women work at night and men work at night. Women play at night and men play at night. Would you attempt to pass a curfew law in the District of Columbia, that only men may dance after 10 P. M.? Would you like to attend plays where at 10 P. M. the feet of the lightly stepping chorus girl is supplanted by the heavy clogs of men? No, it would not be pleasing to you. Let us hope that none of you may ever need the services of a trained woman nurse, but it is likely some of your family may. Would you be bold enough to pass a law saying that no woman nurse should work at night; that neither you nor any member of your family could have the services of a trained woman during the long night watches of a grievous illness? Would any opponents of the amendment suggest that no woman nurse be employed at night? Have you ever noticed that bills prohibiting night work generally apply to industries where there is competition? In such bills you will find that nurses, stenographers, and the like are exempt. Why? Because you need them. In other protective legislation such as for canneries where perishable products are involved and where wages are pitifully low, women are exempt, but when we reach certain better paid positions, then we find restrictions.

In your busy days on Capitol Hill, would all of you like suddenly to be deprived by law of the hundreds of capable and loyal women stenographers who help you to rush through the work of a nation both by day and night? Is there a member of Congress or the Senate today who would go back to their own state and advocate repeal of the Nineteenth, the suffrage amendment and thus, exempt women from voting? Would any opponent of the Equal Rights Amendment suggest the same? Further, would any of our opponents suggest that we repeal the Sixteenth or Income Tax Amendment which levies an income tax on men and women alike? Believing in equality, we ask for no exemption in taxation nor has it ever been offered to us. It is the

same old story, the man sometimes, but the woman always pays!

What lawyer would stand before any audience or any court and say, "let us go back to the seventeenth century." The Constitution of the United States certainly departed from the teachings of that day when in the eighteenth century it provided for the founding of a real democracy. Surely Congress would not go back more than 200 years for we now live under the most liberal document that has ever been devised for the freedom of mankind. We are one hundred and fifty years on our way.

After all, gentlemen, this is a question of justice. The majority of American citizens do not believe in special privileges. For one hundred and fifty years we have been boasting of equality. Isn't it about time we made good? The Democratic platform in 1936 said nothing about protective legislation. It demanded "economic opportunity." We cannot have economic opportunity through restrictive legislation.

Many of our opponents say that our's is the long view and the right view—but that they take the short view in order to deal with an emergency. The reason the Constitution has endured for more than a hundred and fifty years is because its framers took the long view. We feel that a short view is shortsighted. If two sets of labor standards are adopted for the same job—one for men and another for women—the set-up will fail and deserve to fail because it is not democratic. The long view would look to the soundness of the principle for all time. It would deal with conditions surrounding labor, not the sex of the laborer. Women of the United States cannot afford to be made victims of a short view because it means trifling with a fundamental principle of justice. We who boast, irrespective of party, that this nation was founded and has progressed on the principle that there should be "special privilege to none and equal opportunity to all" should now make it a reality by passing the Equal Rights Amendment.

Susan B. Anthony Honored By A Nation

TODAY, FEBRUARY 15, women of the nation commemorate the birthday anniversary of Susan B. Anthony, pioneer advocate of Equal Rights, whose last public utterance prior to her passing in 1906 was "Failure is impossible."

The debt of gratitude owed her by every woman who holds a job, who goes to college, who is a doctor, lawyer, scientist, professor; who controls her own property, her own wages; who votes or holds office; in short—every woman—can never be repaid.

It is significant that her birthday anniversary comes at a time when the proposed Equal Rights Amendment is under consideration by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Honored by the nation, governors of many states have proclaimed February 15 Susan B. Anthony Day and have asked for appropriate observance as a tribute to the pioneer crusader for equality. The cause for which she worked throughout her life goes on, and day by day is being won by women who carry her torch.